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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 647th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 21 March 1991, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 647th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, a solemn meeting devoted to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which has been proclaimed by the General Assembly for 21 March.

The International Day also marks the thirty-first anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, in 1960, of innocent, black South Africans demonstrating peacefully against the infamous pass laws imposed by the apartheid regime. Sixty-nine demonstrators were shot and killed, and many more were wounded.

The legitimate aspiration for freedom, for equality and justice, for which those peaceful demonstrators fell victim on that fateful day not only won the universal and unequivocal support of the international community, but gave added impetus to the global campaign for action to end apartheid and forced the South African regime to change its apartheid policies and embark on a new road which, it is to be hoped, will eventually lead to a new constitutional order, determined by the people of South Africa, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and on a number of specific fundamental principles contained in the United Nations Charter. To remember these victims, this very day is most fitting, and of special significance. Their sacrifice in the struggle against apartheid was not in vain.

I have the great pleasure to welcome to this solemn meeting Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our Secretary-General; Mr. Peter Hohenfellner, President of the Security Council; and Mr. Satteeanund Peerthum, Vice-President of the General Assembly, who is representing the President of the General Assembly.

I wish also to welcome other presiding officers of United Nations bodies, the representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa, and those others who have joined us in today's observance.

(The Chairman)

Today we observe, as we have done over the past years, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. By annually observing this day, the United Nations and the international community at large have consistently reaffirmed their commitment to the global struggle for the elimination of racial discrimination wherever it may exist, because we believe that a threat to human dignity anywhere is a threat to human dignity everywhere.

(The Chairman)

As in previous years, this gathering today serves as a poignant reminder to us all of the evils of racism. We call to mind those who lost their lives due to racism and related acts of racial discrimination and racial violence. More directly, we remember the martyrs of Sharpeville for whom today, 21 March, will eternally serve as a memorial day.

There are no illusions about the evils of racism and the urgent need to eradicate them wherever they exist. We are mindful that in spite of a concerted global campaign to combat racism - a campaign born out of our collective concern - racism thrives globally in different shades and colours. We are also mindful that, in defiance of the dictates of the Charter of the United Nations and, more specifically, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, pockets of racism abound globally and that the universal attainment of racial equality and freedom has remained an elusive objective. But we should be neither deterred nor discouraged. Our collective task is to eradicate racism. The task ahead of us all is challenging. It can be neither abandoned nor allowed to waver.

For those of us in the Special Committee against Apartheid, the global campaign against racism is anchored in and made more imperative by the need to eradicate the obnoxious system of apartheid, a policy that is founded on the principles of the inequality of races, racial discrimination and the institutionalization of separate and definitely unequal standards in all spheres of livelihood for the different races in South Africa.

It is a matter of public information and record that the invidious system of apartheid has over the years imposed intolerable hardship and an extreme degree of inequality on the majority of South Africans, particularly the blacks. The racial policies of the South African Government, codified in its discriminatory acts and laws, are in fundamental contradiction with natural justice and accepted international laws relative to fundamental human rights and liberty. The challenge

(The Chairman)

before the international community has been and remains the need urgently to eradicate racial discrimination worldwide but more so in South Africa, where it has been institutionalized through executive and legislative fiats.

It is therefore with great interest and anticipation that we have been following a number of positive developments in South Africa since last year and that we took particular note of the recent announcements of the President of South Africa.

While the recent repeal of the Land and Group Areas Acts and the promise to introduce interim changes to the Population Registration Acts are welcome and deemed a step in the right direction towards the eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, such initiatives - which by themselves are merely a theoretical foundation for requisite action - will lack merit and remain unwholesome if they fail to redress substantive issues related to access to land and affirmative action programmes that would in turn redress the grave socio-economic inequities generated by racial and discriminatory policies.

We are all aware that questions are now being asked in many quarters about the propriety of sustained and continued pressure against Pretoria. I believe the rationale is as obvious as the answer itself. Whereas there has been perceptible progress in the policies of the De Klerk administration, neither apartheid policies nor apartheid practice have yet been eradicated. Racism, too, may have been tempered by a new and visible racial tolerance, but certainly not eradicated in South Africa.

Continued violence in South Africa, and the South African regime's glaring failure to arrest the situation and administer the requisite reprisals against the perpetrators of violence, suggest neglect and maybe even indifference. Such a stance, analysed dispassionately, finds its basis in certain elements of racism that suggest that any violence that does not violate racial boundaries is tolerable,

(The Chairman)

and that therefore the need to contain violence among blacks becomes a task considered less urgent than if it involved whites. Such a disposition, no matter how subtle, is an obvious source of concern and worry. The regime in Pretoria, in arrogating the right to leadership to itself, has an unquestionable obligation to guarantee security and the right to life and liberty for all its peoples. It also has the responsibility to underwrite the stability and peaceful atmosphere that will usher in the advent of a non-racial democracy in that country.

It is the position of the Special Committee that, in order to ensure that the South African Government fulfils its statutory obligations towards the peace process, the international community, in keeping with the spirit of the consensus resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in September and December 1990, should maintain

> "the measures aimed at applying pressure on the South African regime to eradicate apartheid and to promote profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the Declaration, namely, the speedy eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". (Resolution 45/176 A, para. 11)

This solemn meeting is part of our ongoing monitoring of the evolving situation in South Africa. At a point where there is hope, such hope must be sustained as well as guarded very carefully. In the prevailing circumstance, where the evolving situation in South Africa is gradual and positive, but yet incomplete, the international community must guard against unilateral and premature actions aimed at either relaxing pressure on South Africa or indeed abrogating the measures aimed at sustaining such pressures. We are witnessing a crucial juncture in the delicate ongoing process in South Africa. We have an obligation to lend our supporting hand towards achieving an enduring solution to its problems. The moral obligation of the international community does not end by merely condemning the

(The Chairman)

embodiment of racial discrimination. Our obligation means more than just verbal vilification of these abhorrent practices. We need action to eradicate racism. We must continue to fight until we win this global battle against racism and racial oppression. It is only then that we can help reconstruct a new and just society on the ruins of the old.

In this spirit and with renewed commitment, let us remember all those who have paid dearly with their lives to combat the evils of racism and apartheid. We owe them a modicum of dignity and an obligation to sustain the cause for which they died until racism and apartheid are eradicated from South Africa.

Before I call on the Secretary-General on this solemn occasion, I would like to invite you now to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Sharpeville massacre and all other victims of apartheid, as well as the many valiant freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives in the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This year, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is being observed under more auspicious circumstances. For some time now, and particularly during the last year, the Government of South Africa has made serious strides towards dismantling the system of apartheid. Through negotiations it should be replaced with a system based on the principles of equality, democracy and the rule of law.

It is heartening that the immense efforts and sacrifices of the majority of South Africans are now bearing fruit. They must feel pride in the struggle they have waged to transform their country into a society that is based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The international community has made every effort to support them in their quest. I am confident that it will continue to do so.

The process that started in South Africa, to which the United Nations contributed, inter alia, by the adoption of a consensus United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa more than a year ago, will be complex and difficult. A number of obstacles still have to be overcome.

The release of all political prisoners and the return of political exiles without restrictions in the very near future will facilitate the process of negotiations for a new constitution. As always, the United Nations stands ready to provide assistance. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in particular is ready to assist in the return of exiles. Other agencies and organizations of the United Nations system are also in a position to provide assistance in their areas of competence at the appropriate time.

The violence that is raging in South Africa is profoundly disturbing. All parties have a responsibility to do their utmost to end it. The South African

(The Secretary-General)

authorities have a special responsibility to ensure that their security forces discharge their duties in an impartial manner.

The consolidation of a climate conducive to free political activity, which is essential for the process of negotiations, will also help to develop a culture of democracy and respect for human rights in South Africa.

I continue to be concerned by the grave social injustice that has been inflicted by apartheid on the black population of South Africa. Measures that aim at urgently addressing some of the most glaring social and economic imbalances, particularly in the areas of housing, education, employment and health, can help to build the confidence which is essential for the success of the negotiating process.

I am confident that the international community will do its utmost to foster the process of negotiation on a new constitution for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democractic society in South Africa as soon as possible. For my part, I will continue to follow closely developments in South Africa, particularly the progress made in the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid, as requested by the General Assembly. I shall continue to spare no effort to facilitate the process leading to the peaceful eradication of apartheid.

The historic opportunity that has emerged in South Africa must succeed. The most recent initiatives of President De Klerk are encouraging, as they show that a common vision for a new South Africa is materializing. The statesmanship and the foresight displayed by the black leadership also holds the promise that in spite of setbacks and difficulties the vision of a new South Africa will be a reality in the near future.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Peter Hohenfellner, President of the Security Council, to address our meeting.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria), President of the Security Council: Allow me first of all, Mr. Chairman, to thank you and the other members of the Committee for inviting me as President of the Security Council to participate in the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

On this day, the thirty-first anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, the members of the Security Council join with the rest of the international community in remembering all who are or have been the victims of racial discrimination, and not least those who have suffered from the policies of apartheid.

The members of the Council reaffirm their support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa in which all its people, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, will enjoy the same fundamental freedoms and human rights. The members of the Security Council have been following with keen interest the current process towards the dismantling of the apartheid system. They view positively the initiatives being undertaken towards that end. They also note, however, that until all traces of apartheid have been removed that process cannot be considered complete.

The Security Council has reaffirmed that the policy of apartheid is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and that it seriously disturbs international peace and security. It has expressed its support for and solidarity with all those struggling for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination and all victims of violence and repression by the Government of South Africa.

The members of the Council are firmly committed to doing all in their power consonant with the Charter of the United Nations to contribute to the enjoyment by all South Africans of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human

(Mr. Hohenfellner, President of the Security Council)

Rights. They welcome the progress thus far made aimed at facilitating the commencement of negotiations towards the transformation of South African society and encourage the people of South Africa to participate fully in future negotiations in order to decide their own non-racial and democratic future.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour and pleasure of inviting His Excellency Mr. Satteeanund Peerthum, Vice-President of the General Assembly, to read out a message from the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Guido de Marco.

Mr. PEERTHUM (Mauritius), Vice-President of the General Assembly: The following is a message from the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Guido de Marco:

"The observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination this year is taking place at a time when the winds of change in South Africa are beginning to blow with increasing strength. The fact that action was introduced recently in Parliament to dismantle the main legislative pillars of apartheid, possibly by 1 July, is a measure of the dramatic change that is now taking place in South Africa. South Africa today stands on the threshold not only of attending to its own problems but of becoming over a short period an asset to Africa and to the rest of the world.

"The road ahead, however, is fraught with danger, but we trust that with the enlightened leadership of Mr. De Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela and others, and with the active and wise support of the international community we shall all together be able to overcome the last obstacles that stand in the way of negotiations towards the adoption of a non-racial and democratic constitution.

(Mr. Peerthum, Vice-President of the General Assembly)

"In adopting by consensus the Declaration on Apartheid in December 1989 - the first time in the history of the Organization such a consensus decision was ever reached on the subject - the General Assembly proved that it was able not only closely to monitor developments in the field but also to contribute to the peaceful elimination of apartheid and to the negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa.

(Mr. Peerthum, Vice-President of the General Assembly)

"The consensus Declaration on South Africa commits the Member States of this Organization individually and collectively to abide by its provisions. While Governments may assess the situation in South Africa in a different manner, and act on it differently because of domestic and short-term policy considerations, it is of the utmost significance that at this critical juncture in South Africa they act in common to maintain the pressure, where needed, to be the catalytic force that will make change in South Africa meaningful, irreversible, just and lasting.

"In many ways the action initiated by the General Assembly in these very premises many years ago has been vindicated. In a sense the world has come full circle, and we stand today united in our profound belief that apartheid is wrong and must be dismantled by peaceful means. Very few today, even within South Africa, would contest the validity and worth of this basic position. In fact, official pronouncements from the Government and various political parties formerly in support of separate development are being made daily in South Africa in support of the dismantling of apartheid and the promotion of a new South Africa.

"In a world beset by so many ills and conflicts, amidst deteriorating economic and social conditions, the positive changes that are taking place in South Africa are indeed a source of hope. Let us therefore all together, while fulfilling our responsibilities to the international community on the actual and potential threats it faces, do our very best to help the parties to the conflict in South Africa come together and provide them with the means to confront the difficulties and obstacles they face, so that they may begin negotiations soon, and so that the negotiations may bear fruit in the foreseeable future. Once apartheid has gone a new South Africa will have come

(Mr. Peerthum, Vice-President of the General Assembly)

about where all South Africans, irrespective of colour, creed or race, contribute their best to achieve their individual and collective potential in a country so generously endowed by the bounty of nature and awaiting new beginnings."

The CHAIRMAN: At this stage I should like to pause briefly to escort the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, who have asked to be excused due to other engagements.

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Jan Eliasson, Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, to make a statement.

Mr. ELIASSON (Sweden), Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa: I wish first to thank you Mr. Chairman, for the invitation to address this solemn meeting on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Our meeting today takes place at a time when South Africa appears to be on the road towards democracy. In the past months important steps have been taken in the direction of fundamental and irreversible changes.

President De Klerk's undertaking of 1 February to work for the abolition of the fundamental pillars of the apartheid system is gratifying. We have noted the announcement that legislation has been introduced to repeal the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Development of Black Communities Act and the Population Registration Act. To this should be added the agreement reached on 12 February between President De Klerk and African National Congress Deputy President Mandela to expedite the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

All this is welcome, but while welcoming these positive developments let us not underestimate the difficulties that still lie ahead. The struggle is not over - far from it. There is still a dangerous gap between the public declarations

(Mr. Eliasson, Chairman, Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa)

of the South African Government and the factual situation within the country. Political trials continue. The Internal Security Act and other repressive legislation continue to be in effect. Political prisoners are still in jail. The violence has not been contained.

The struggle for a new South Africa does not take place only in the negotiating room. It continues in community organizations, in trade unions, in women's and youth organizations, in the churches and in countless other arenas. In all of these areas repression continues. It is therefore absolutely essential that the international community, that we all here today, do not weaken in our support for and commitment to those who stand in defence of freedom, justice and equality for all in South Africa.

We were all deeply moved by the joy and relief expressed by the first returning exiles. Many of us saw pictures on television. They were returning, and we, too, rejoiced. But let us remember that they return to a country torn apart by grave political, economic, social and educational inequities. They return to a country facing enormous disparities which must be overcome on the road to a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Let us remember also that it is among the former political prisoners, among those to be released soon, among the thousands of exiles about to return, that South Africa will find some of the people who can help build a free and prosperous South Africa.

The humanitarian, legal, relief and educational assistance that the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, which I chair, has provided, and will continue to provide, will help former political prisoners and exiles to reintegrate into South African society and to serve their country - to serve their country well.

(Mr. Eliasson, Chairman, Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa)

In view of developments in South Africa, the Committee of Trustees recently reviewed the need and possibilities to adapt its programme of activities. On 28 February the Committee held consultations with prominent lawyers from South Africa and representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and of the main voluntary agencies with which the Trust Fund has worked since our inception back in 1965.

After these consultations the Committee concluded that the Trust Fund's existing mandate clearly remains relevant to the evolving political situation in South Africa. It is our strong hope that in due time the need for our work will decrease dramatically. For the moment, however, the need is as great as ever. This means that continued legal and humanitarian assistance is still required in South Africa today.

In our review the Committee also emphasized the growing demand for legal, humanitarian and educational assistance to former political prisoners, to political prisoners about to be released and to returning exiles. In particular, further legal assistance to speed up the release of political prisoners may be needed, as well as relief assistance upon their release.

It was also recognized that there might be an increasing need for legal assistance related to the effects of South Africa's discriminatory legislation and the consequences of the formal dismantling of the apartheid structures.

It is evident that at this critical juncture the humanitarian and legal programmes of assistance are assuming greater significance, as thousands and thousands of victims of repressive measures will find in these programmes relief, moral encouragement and hope for the future.

(Mr. Eliasson, Chairman, Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa)

In closing, I would like to thank warmly those Governments, organizations and individuals who, by their voluntary contributions, make these programmes possible. Let me express my deep gratitude for and satisfaction with the positive outcome of yesterday's pledging meeting here at the United Nations. The amount pledged for the Trust Fund was the largest ever, almost $3.8 million, roughly $200,000 more than last year.

Let us again be reminded that those who are actively opposing apartheid and the consequences of apartheid are defending the very principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. They also defend basic human values, and by doing so they also defend us.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to make a statement.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia), Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): This solemn meeting in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has become part of the struggle by the people of South Africa against racial discrimination and apartheid.

We are gathered here today to pay our respects once again to those innocent South African children, men and women who were brutally killed at Sharpeville 31 years ago by the coercive forces of the apartheid regime. Indeed, Sharpeville has become a turning-point for the majority of nations and peoples in their

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special Committee of 24)

determination to become partners with the people of South Africa in their quest for equality and democratic rights.

The year 1960 marked not only a milestone in the determination of the international community to take a stand and to fight the system of apartheid; it also marked a turning-point in the manner in which the world was to seek ways and means to confront another evil legacy, that of colonialism. That year, the General Assembly adopted its historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The following year, the General Assembly established the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which I am privileged to represent here today.

The tasks entrusted to both the Special Committee on Decolonization and the Special Committee against Apartheid were to defend the right of peoples everywhere to self-determination and freedom, equality and dignity and the enjoyment of basic human rights. For more than three decades the two Special Committees have spearheaded the actions of the international community in pursuit of these common goals. Today, with a feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction, we can indeed measure our work and efforts, which are often interlinked.

In 1945, when the United Nations was founded, over one fourth of the world's population lived under colonial rule in more than 80 countries. At present there are less than two million people living in the remaining 18 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Since its inception, the Special Committee against Apartheid has pursued its mandate with determination and resolve, galvanizing the efforts of Governments and grass-roots organizations and peoples all over the world into a genuinely worldwide

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special Committee of 24)

mass movement to eliminate the scourge of apartheid, racism and racial discrimination, which is a violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Today, 31 years after Sharpeville, we have cause to hope that South Africa stands at the threshold of a new era and that the political process upon which it has embarked holds prospects of leading all the people of that beleaguered country to dismantle apartheid, to take up the challenge of nation-building and, together, to mould a future of justice and equality for all.

Today, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and countless other freedom fighters are free and actively leading their people in dismantling the remaining structures of what were once impenetrable bastions of apartheid's edifice. Some 40,000 people who were forced into political exile abroad are returning to their motherland.

While we hail the disenfranchised people of South Africa and applaud them for the immense sacrifices they have made, we reaffirm our solidarity with their struggle to reach a goal which seems closer to attainment than ever before. We will indeed sustain them with our support over the last hurdles that still obstruct the path to their final objective.

We share a great measure of satisfaction at the recent initiatives taken by the Government that signal the beginning of the dismantling of apartheid. We are encouraged by the actions to abolish discriminatory laws as well as efforts at confidence-building, conciliation and the normalization of relations between different races and segments of the society. While we welcome this positive turn of events in South Africa, which are the direct outcome of the protracted struggle of the people of South Africa and the perseverance of the international community, we are also acutely aware that it is still not time to slacken our vigilance.

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

In this regard we heed once again the views of the Deputy President of the African National Congress of South Africa, who has specifically cautioned against the lifting of sanctions imposed on the South African Government on the basis of premature assumptions and expectations.

The corrosive impact of apartheid continues to generate violence among the victims of that system. While we call upon the Government of President F. W. De Klerk to bring an end to the senseless violence, we appeal to all anti-apartheid forces in South Africa to contribute their share towards reconciliation and harmony among the disenfranchised people of South Africa.

We in the Special Committee of 24 face a similar task as the international community undertakes to fulfil the commitment to make this last decade of the twentieth century the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, as mandated by the General Assembly in resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988. Bringing the decolonization process to a successful conclusion within the time-frame set by the General Assembly is a complex task, given the many problems that remain to be resolved in some of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In our determined efforts to fulfil our similar mandates to defend the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and equality we continue to seek the support of all Governments, organizations and peoples to ensure that the world will be rid of all vestiges of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination before the dawn of the twenty-first century.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Pheko, to make a statement.

Mr. PHEKO (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): The United Nations, especially through the Special Committee against Apartheid, has been and continues to be a dynamo of encouragement to the dispossessed and oppressed people of Azania,

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

particularly during their darkest days in their struggle, when the going was rough and tough. It is therefore my honour today, on their behalf, to pay a humble tribute to the magnificent work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Thank you for this noble service on behalf of the freedom and human dignity of the oppressed.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

On 18 March 1960 Pan Africanist Congress President Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe announced that the dispossessed and oppressed people of Azania were taking their first step towards their country's liberation. Nobody believed the PAC; in fact, on 20 March an African organization issued a statement, through its Secretary-General, in a white liberal newspaper in Johannesburg, which read as follows:

"We must avoid sensational actions which might not succeed, because we realize that it is treacherous to the liberation movement to embark on a campaign which has not been properly prepared and which has no reasonable prospect of success."

But the PAC was not intimidated. In a defiant mood, President Sobukwe, on behalf of the PAC and the people of Azania, declared:

"Sons and daughters of the soil, on Monday, 21 March, we launch our positive, decisive action campaign against the pass laws. Exactly at 7 a.m. we launch - yes, we launch - our campaign everywhere. There is no doubt about it. We have reached the crossroad; we have crossed our historical Rubicon."

On 21 March 1960 thousands of Africans throughout the country responded to the PAC national call. They marched to police stations, challenging the iniquitous apartheid pass laws.

The South African police had never seen so many black faces angrily defying the racist colonialists on such a scale. They panicked and started shooting. At the close of that Black Monday - 21 March 1960 - 89 Africans had been killed and over 365 wounded at Sharpeville, Langa and other places.

But 21 March 1960 had ushered in an irreversible march to the glittering gates of a free non-racial democratic Azania.

The Sharpeville uprising dealt devastating blows to the economy of South Africa. The South African bank reserves sank to their lowest ever. Had it not been

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

for American banks that provided financial aid to the tune of $100 million to boost the then shattered economy, Azania might have been born in the early 1960s.

As a professor of history has put it:

"In the aftermath of Sharpeville, many whites bought weapons. The steel-helmeted troops patrolled the streets. In a single day the PAC had changed South Africa forever."

The Sharpeville uprising demonstrated the possibility of overthrowing the racist colonialist regime of South Africa - something about which there had previously been some doubt.

Writing about the Sharpeville uprising, Lewis Nkosi, a respectable African journalist who is now a university professor of literature, wrote:

"A tall, distinguished-looking African prisoner, a university lecturer and a political leader at the age of 36 has the rare distinction of having scared Verwoerd's Government out of its wits.

"In March 1960 Robert Sobukwe, President of the Pan Africanist Congress, helped to orchestrate a crisis that panicked the South African Government and nearly brought about the kind of political anarchy which all too often makes possible the transference of power overnight."

To contain the PAC, the regime yielded to the demand of the African people: it suspended the pass laws. This was an unprecedented back-down by and humiliation of the regime. The South African regime also declared a state of emergency for the very first time this century. The regime also offered to negotiate with the PAC about the grievances of the African people. The offer was made by Mr. F. Erasmus, the settler Minister of Justice. But the PAC leaders were arrested when they were on their way to meet Mr. Erasmus for negotiations.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The Sharpeville uprising on 21 March 1960 also caused considerable confusion in the ranks of the oppressors. It led to the attempted assassination of the racist Prime Minister Hendrick F. Verwoerd by shooting.

The Sharpeville uprising sent a very clear message as to the primary demand of the Africans in their PAC unfolding programme - that is, self-determinatiOn in their country which was colonized and never decolonized by the colonial Power. When banning the Pan Africanist Congress on 8 April 1960 for organizing and leading the Sharpeville uprising, Mr. F. Erasmus, the Minister of Justice, told the minority parliament that the PAC did not want a pound a day. "What the PAC wants", he said, "is our land".

Through the Sharpeville uprising the PAC fundamentally changed the course of colonial history in South Africa. After Sharpeville, South Africa was never to be the same again. Paul Sauer, acting Prime Minister in the absence of Verwoerd, who had just narrowly escaped death by assassination, spoke at Humansdorp, in the Cape Province, 15 days after PAC leaders had been sentenced to imprisonment for the Sharpeville uprising. He said:

> "The old book of South African history was closed a month ago and, for the immediate future, South Africa will consider in earnest and honestly its whole approach to the native question."

It is a statement of fact that the Sharpeville uprising is a symbol of struggle for national liberation in South Africa today. This uprising marked the first major confrontation between the antagonistic forces of African nationalism led by the Pan Africanist Congress against the forces of apartheid and colonialism led by the racist colonialist regime of South Africa. As a prominent Azanian academic, Peter N. Raboroko, observed:

> "The campaign generated an unprecedented mood of insurrection which has remained a permanent feature of the South African situation."

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

For his part, Dr. Ismail Mohammed, a mathematics lecturer at the University Witwatersrand, declared:

"Sharpeville stands out as a turning-point in our history. In the aftermath of Sharpeville, when the full horrible magnitude of the tyrant became clear, the lines of conflict were drawn and gave birth to forces destined to determine the destiny of our society."

The Sharpeville uprising is an historic watershed. Recognizing this fact, a Tanzanian newspaper observed:

"There is no gainsaying the fact that when the annals of the liberation of southern Africa, and of Azania in particular, come to be written, Sharpeville will assume the prominence of a historical watershed."

The Sharpeville uprising introduced a new style of leadership. The leaders were to be in the forefront: no bail, no defence, no fine. Appreciating this new style of leadership, a publication observed:

"We are tired of paying thousands of pounds in bail money and in fines. Here we stand with the PAC."

The day 21 March belongs first and foremost to Azania; but it is observed not only in Azania but also on the entire continent of Africa and internationally. It is not surprising that the people of Namibia, after their heroic struggle for self-determination, chose 21 March 1990 as Namibia's Independence Day. Indeed, before he died poisoned by the Pretoria regime, banned and restricted to Kimberly in 1978, the supreme leader of the Sharpeville uprising, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, summed up the significant of Sharpeville as follows:

"In Sharpeville we overcame the fear of the consequences of disobeying colonial laws. It became respectable to go to jail and emerge as what Kwame Nkrumah called 'prison graduates'. We stripped the white man of that

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

weapon against us. The white man now, in Soweto, had to fall back on his ultimate weapon: the gun. Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the fear of the gun."

The struggle against apartheid and colonialism in racist South Africa has reached a critical stage. The challenge to the international community is: Will the supreme sacrifices of the oppressed and dispossessed Africans, as well as those of the United Nations itself, all go to waste owing to a grave error of judgement, racist considerations and economic interests of former colonial Powers which have reaped super-profits in South Africa and are looking for the slightest excuse to go back to the old days there?

Let me now say a few words about the F. W. De Klerk "negotiations". On 19 April 1990 Mr. De Klerk made a statement in the South African minority parliament. That statement is, therefore, a serious declaration. Any violation of it makes him answerable to the apartheid colonialist parliament. Among other things, he said:

"We are not acting under pressure or from a position of weakness. The initiative is in our hands and we have the means at our disposal."

That, of course, was a reference to the exclusively South African racist army.

Mr. De Klerk continued:

"There are really only three basic alternatives with which to replace the existing constitutional model. They are partition, simplistic majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote, or power-sharing. Majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa. This applies to a unitary system and a typical geographical federation."

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

Mr. De Klerk further said that:

"Those who enjoy full political rights are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history. On the contrary, a key role awaits them in the new dispensation. We shall not throw the freedom and values we have built over three and a half centuries overboard".

On 19 December 1980, Mr. Roelf Meyer, Mr. De Klerk's deputy constitutional development Minister, speaking about negotiations, said:

"Power-sharing with South African blacks will be on a federal rather than on a parliamentary basis. The simplistic Westminster model is not the answer for South Africa's problems; a new constitution must prevent blacks from dominating whites".

Nine days ago, on 12 March 1991, Mr. De Klerk's Minister of Education and Training, Mr. Stoffel van Merwe said:

"More land was taken away from white people and given to black people than the other way round".

It is for the Special Committee against Apartheid and all those who subscribe to the dismantling of apartheid in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989 to analyse these statements by the apartheid leaders in South Africa.

Because of the limited time at my disposal, I shall state the position of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania briefly. The PAC believes that peaceful methods of resolving the conflict should be pursued wherever possible. The PAC has therefore stated that a negotiated settlement is possible only under the following conditions: majority rule; redistribution of resources, especially the land; and the establishment of an elected constituent assembly, on a non-racial basis of one person, one vote on a common voters' roll in a unitary State, to draw up a constitution.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

These conditions have been conveyed to Mr. De Klerk, following his letter of August 1990 to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania on negotiations with the Pretoria regime.

In South Africa, the white settlers constitute 13 per cent of the population, but they have grabbed 106,800,000 hectares of land, leaving only 15,200,000 hectares of barren land to over 36 million indigenous Africans, who constitute 87 per cent of South Africa's population, including so-called coloureds and Indians. The whites control 80 per cent of South Africa's wealth. There is no way apartheid can be dismantled and colonialism destroyed without redressing this economic imbalance; because of this economic imbalance, Africans suffer poverty, underdevelopment, diseases, the highest child mortality and the shortest life expectancy.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania held its second National Congress in Johannesburg from 7 to 9 December 1990. The PAC was unbanned on 2 February 1990 after 30 years of being declared an unlawful organization by the Pretoria regime. At its National Congress, the PAC addressed itself to various issues, but only a few can be mentioned here.

On violence between Africans, the PAC National Congress - the supreme body of this organization - called on

> "every African in our country to oppose and expose all elements in our society that promote violence, engage other political groups in the process of curbing violence, and spread the message: peace among Africans, war against the enemy".

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has also approached Mr. Mandela of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Chief Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, offering to mediate so that there can be peace among the oppressed.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The PAC has also made efforts to form a united, or patriotic, front with all other organizations of the oppressed.

It does not make sense to suspend armed struggle against the Pretoria regime, and witness 10,000 of our own people slaughtered on a genocidal scale, particularly when this genocide is linked with the massive recruitment of immigrants, especially from eastern European countries such as Hungary. This immigration drive by the Pretoria regime must stop forthwith, until apartheid and colonialism are dismantled in South Africa.

Finally, the dispossessed people of Azania will never exchange their land and their usurped national sovereignty merely for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to a bigger jail called South Africa, whether the old South Africa or the new. Nor shall we allow the introduction of extraneous elements into the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989, or be bound by them. These extraneous elements pervert all rules of interpretation of legal instruments. Therefore, so-called minutes or agreements with the Pretoria regime can only distort and compromise the said United Nations Declaration.

For instance, a regime which has committed the crimes of apartheid and genocide can in no circumstance be allowed to question the indemnity of its political prisoners and exiles; rather, it is the dispossessed people of Azania who must consider whether they will grant indemnity to the perpetrators of that crime against humanity, apartheid, when apartheid has been dismantled and consigned to the dustbin history.

The United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989 calls for the unconditional release of prisoners and, of course, the return of exiles. This Declaration is the only basis for negotiations with the regime on dismantling apartheid in South Africa. It must be strictly adhered to.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

It must be remembered that in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and, recently, in Namibia, new constitutions dismantling racism and colonialism were first agreed by the indigenous African majority. Political prisoners and exiles returned to situations that had been fundamentally and irreversibly changed, not to the same racist, colonial situations they had left behind when they went to prison or into exile for the liberation of their countries.

The blood of the African people that has been spilled in South Africa ever since they were colonized and then subjected to the tyranny of apartheid would overflow the Nile, the Amazon and the Mississippi. The blood shed in Sharpeville and Langa on 21 March 1960 must be included here; all this precious blood shed for freedom and human dignity must not be sacrificed for mere crumbs falling from the oppressors' table in Pretoria.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Tebogo Mafole, to make a statement.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a great privilege for me to address, on behalf of the African National Congress, this solemn meeting to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

A year ago on this day, the people of Namibia gave practical meaning and significance to this annual observance by proclaiming themselves independent, thus banishing forever from their soil South African colonialism and its much-condemned policy of racial discrimination. Permit me, therefore, on behalf of the ANC and in the name of the struggling people of South Africa, who have been immensely inspired by, and drawn great strength from, the courageous freedom struggle in Namibia, to convey to the people of that country our warmest congratulations and best wishes. We are confident that they will triumph over the devastating consequences arising from the tragic legacy of the illegal occupation by apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The end of the Gulf War has enabled the world to shift its focus to the less cataclysmic and yet equally troubling centres of conflict in the world. In this regard, the succession of political events in South Africa have given the international community occasion to put that country under a sharp spotlight.

De Klerk's speech of 1 February, in which he announced his regime's intention to repeal the laws commonly known as the pillars of apartheid, the recent introduction, in Parliament, of the laws designed to repeal the Land Acts, and the publication of the so-called white paper on land reform - all have generated unprecedented excitement in the international media. In major capitals, the debate on South Africa is being resumed with renewed vigour. Various intergovernmental organizations, such as the European Community, the Commonwealth and this body, have listed this question as an important agenda item.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Fundamental to the debate is the question of whether the time has arrived to lift the sanctions imposed against South Africa in recognition of the efforts by the De Klerk regime to end apartheid. The same question can be put differently: should we not encourage the political process by rehabilitating the regime in order to score a blow against those who are opposed to the process currently underway?

It is our conviction that the answer that the people of the world give to this question and the actions flowing from such an answer may be highly critical to the political process in South Africa. In other words, the intervention of the international community may result either in an early fruition of the dream of a democratic society long cherished by the majority of our people and for which they have given their sweat and blood, or it may throw our country and region into an abyss of chaos and destruction. I should therefore like to share with the participants in this meeting the thinking of the ANC on this subject.

In order to do justice to this issue, we propose to use as a point of departure the historic United Nations Declaration on Apartheid adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989. In this document, the nations of the world represented here not only expressed their unequivocal commitment to the elimination of apartheid, but also defined the parameters of the struggle they would pursue until:

"South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens"(A/RES/S-16/1, p. 4).

To recapitulate, for the international community the twin objectives in South Africa are - and should be - the end of apartheid and the establishment of democracy. Consequently, the usefulness or lack thereof of any political initiative must of necessity be subjected to this acid test.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

A year ago, the speech by De Klerk on 2 February and the subsequent political events led some circles to conclude, prematurely, that apartheid was already a thing of the past which was to remain merely as a blight on the history of human relations. Had the ANC and other political organizations not been unbanned, we were asked? Have the prison doors not burst asunder to release Nelson Mandela? Then, as now, we welcomed the political initiatives. But we also emphasized, as we emphasize now, the great need to temper enthusiasm with caution, precisely because of the unsavoury track record of the apartheid regime in translating well-meaning intentions into deeds. We called attention then, as we do now, to the fact that the regime had not complied with the stipulations in the United Nations Declaration that obligated it to create a climate conducive to genuine negotiations.

The ANC, however, as part of its contribution towards a just political dispensation, engaged the regime in a dialogue at various levels, including a number of summit meetings, the last of which was held on 12 February 1991 in Cape Town. As is well known, all these efforts were aimed precisely at ensuring compliance by the regime with the Declaration, in order to remove all obstacles to negotiation. It is a matter of deep regret that, in spite of all the efforts, a year later the apartheid regime has failed to comply with the Declaration.

With regard to political prisoners, the regime has reneged on its solemn commitments made in Groote Schuur. Instead, it has used the issue of their release as a bargaining chip to force acquiescence on the part of the ANC on other unrelated subjects of negotiation. Thus, out of a total of 3,000 political prisoners - which figure has been confirmed by independent human-rights groups - the regime has, in dribs and drabs, released about 300 political prisoners.

While the bans on political organizations have been lifted, active participation in the political process by over 40,00 exiles is made absolutely impossible by the regime's reluctance to grant them full indemnity. In this

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

regard, too, the regime is acting in flagrant violation of its commitments as contained in the Groote Schuur agreement.

While the state of emergency has been lifted in most parts of the country, it is still operative in Bophuthatswana Bantustan, which the United Nations, incidentally, does not recognize as independent. Further, the Internal Security Act, which allows for detention without trial and therefore circumscribes political activity, remains in force. To date, there are about 150 political opponents in detention. Here, once again, the regime has gone against its declared commitment at Groote Schuur to repeal, during the current session of Parliament, those aspects of the law that negatively impact on free political expression. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, De Klerk did not even bother to mention this law.

As regards political trials, it is common knowledge that they are at present going on throughout the country. While we certainly welcome the recent announcement by the regime's Justice Minister that "Yengeni trialists" will be released in due course, we must observe that the regime is singling out this highly publicized trial in order to divert criticism from itself.

It would therefore seem that the international community, and certainly the United Nations, are duty-bound to heighten rather than lessen pressure on the regime to fulfil the minimum requirements to ensure that negotiations begin soon. Talk of rewarding De Klerk under these circumstances would therefore appear to defeat the very purpose inherent in the United Nations Declaration.

In answer to the assertion that I have just made, our detractors are quick to point out that De Klerk ought to be rewarded, if for nothing else, then certainly for taking the bold steps he has undertaken of removing the pillars of apartheid. Indeed, they argue that since the Declaration alludes to irreversible changes as a sine qua non for lifting sanctions, the steps already undertaken are irreversible. For instance, they ask whether Nelson Mandela can be sent back to prison or whether

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

the ban on the ANC and other organizations can be re-imposed. Although the successive apartheid regimes have never been known to exhibit consistent rational behaviour, it is difficult to see how Mandela could be re-imprisoned and the ANC and other organizations re-banned at this stage. Be that as it may, this argument, in our view, totally misses the point about irreversibility.

The point is not whether this individual or that organization can be clamped down upon. The big question is whether or not the regime has the legal or constitutional capacity to act in a way that effectively conflicts with its declared intentions. In other words, is there any constitutional mechanism in place that would deter the regime from acting in its characteristic viciousness towards its opponents? That is the big question.

In this connection, a few pointers may be in order. First, for as long as the Internal Security Act remains intact, the regime will have absolutely no problem in imprisoning its opponents without trial, whether those prisoners are Nelson Mandela and others, or unknown political opponents. The point of the matter is that the capacity exists for the regime to reverse itself.

Secondly, in order to underline the regime's commitment to a new democratic order, De Klerk last year declared a moratorium on executions. As we all know, the moratorium ended this month. In other words, executions can resume.

Thirdly, while the world's attention is focused on the so-called pillars of apartheid, the regime has quietly introduced, in Parliament, the seemingly innocuous Alien Control Bill, which empowers immigration officers - you can translate "officers" as "police" - to enter without a warrant any premises, including business or private dwellings, to interrogate the people and examine books, statements, records or registers that relate to the occupation of the

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

residence. Failure to provide the necessary information will be a punishable offence. This is reminiscent of the daily police raids in black people's houses in the dead of the night that were possible under the pass laws - laws which, we are told, were abolished a few years ago.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Once again, therefore, the conclusion is inescapable: There is no initiative that the regime has undertaken to date that it cannot reverse.

There is perhaps nothing that demonstrates that fact better than the most widely publicized activities of the regime, namely the announcement of its intention to repeal the so-called pillars of apartheid and the introduction of the Land Bills. De Klerk has been hailed and described in superlative terms. Once again, even as we welcome the repeals our experience and Pretoria's track record dictate that we exercise maximum vigilance. Since the abolition of the Land Acts and the introduction of related laws have been held up as a harbinger of democratic transformation in South Africa, it is imperative that we examine, albeit very briefly, the implications of these bills.

First, the repeal of the Land Acts will correct the gross injustice where 85 per cent of the population, being black, can own only 13 per cent of the land whilst whites have a monopoly on 87 per cent. Since, however, the whites already own 87 per cent of the land and since they invariably are the ones who have the resources to buy land, the repeal will only serve to remove the legal impediments precluding them from buying into the 13 per cent of the land which blacks by and large do not own but mainly occupy.

Secondly, since 1951, 4 million black people have been uprooted from their lands with scant or no compensation and dumped into the bantustans. Clearly, meaningful land reform would have to address this dire need for land.

Whilst the regime, in its white paper, talks about assisting blacks to acquire land, its spokesmen have said quite clearly that the dispossessed land will not be given back because this has a "potential for conflict". In other words, the regime is saying that what constituted open theft of land will now be sanctioned by law.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Clearly it is this injustice that in our view constitutes a potential for conflict. As the ANC pointed out in its reponse to the white paper,

"The restoration of the land to the victims of forced removals must form the underpinning of any credible land policy".

Thus, this document, which purports to rectify a historic wrong, is also replete with troublesome assumptions that are potentially racist or outright provocative.

Based on these pronouncements by the regime, the other pillars of apartheid, including the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, will be repealed with similar devastating effect. This raises very sharply the question of whether the removal of the apartheid laws would in itself result in the desired democratic society in which there is justice for all citizens.

Even on that score there appears to be no justification for rewarding De Klerk. The United Nations and the world community, mindful of the twin objectives of the Declaration, should not prematurely relax the measures aimed at assisting the democratic transformation of South Africa. Rather, no effort should be spared in utilizing the leverage that such measures provide to compel the regime to move on a truly democratic path. Indeed, if the much talked about new world order is to be characterized by democratic changes, we see no reason why South Africa should be the exception.

It would seem that all things considered the questions that remain to be answered are: Which way forward South Africa? How can the objective of a democratic South Africa be realized? And, more specifically, what should be the role of the international community?

In answering those questions it is important to emphasize that while it is in the interest of all South Africans to find appropriate solutions to the current problems, the United Nations Declaration recognizes the indisputable fact that it

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

is the racist regime that is responsible for apartheid and that therefore a greater onus should be placed on it with respect to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

In the same vein, the regime bears a great responsibility for ending the tragic spiral of violence engulfing the country, particularly in view of the numerous affidavits clearly showing that certain forces within the security apparatus are exploiting the political differences among the various groups to fan the flames of violence. It should be fairly obvious that the continued violence itself constitutes a serious obstacle to negotiations. Therefore, Pretoria must be prevailed upon to address this issue and other related issues more seriously.

It is also our view that the international community should utilize its leverage, including the maintenance of measures against Pretoria, to support the call by the overwhelming majority of our people for speedy movement towards the establishment of a constituent assembly - a body competent to draft a new constitution for South Africa - as well as towards the creation of interim measures guaranteeing a smooth transition to democracy.

Even as we endeavour to search for a new constitution, there are numerous social and economic problems that unfortunately cannot wait for the outcome. They cry out for solutions right now. First, the return of 40,000 exiles will further strain the already meagre resources available for housing and employment opportunities. Education for blacks in South Africa is in a chaotic state and may itself constitute a great destabilizing factor. We therefore commend the Special Committee for adopting a programme designed to assist in precisely those areas, and we wish to remind the international community that its obligations in this sphere, as set out in the Declaration, require that a meaningful contribution be made by them.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

In spite of all the difficulties, the ANC still believes now, as it did when the General Assembly adopted its Declaration, that

"A conjuncture of circumstances exists which if there is demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African regime ... could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations". (A/RES/S-16/1, p. 4)

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for its continued support and for giving us the opportunity to speak at this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the last speaker on the list, Mrs. Maha Khoury of the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations, to make a statement.

Mrs. KHOURY (Palestine): The Palestine Observer Mission to the United Nations extends its thanks to the Committee for inviting us to participate in this important meeting.

The struggle of the South African people against apartheid and racism is similar to the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism, racism and occupation. Our histories are parallel; our struggles are the same; and hence our aspirations are the same. For many decades, both our peoples have been subjected to the most inhumane treatment by racist regimes of Israel and South Africa. Armed with the idea that people of Western origin were more civilized and sophisticated than third-world people, those regimes tried to justify their actions to the world by claiming moral and technical supremacy over the native peoples. The notion that land and resources could be controlled for the exclusive use of one group of people to the detriment of another bound together ideologically the Europeans of South Africa and the Zionists of Palestine.

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

The principle of exclusivity upon which both apartheid and Zionism are based inevitably led to the current situation in South Africa and in the lands conquered by Israel. Racism, discrimination and elaborate methods of population control are endemic to such systems and are intended to ensure the continued exclusive control of land and people by the privileged group.

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

The non-white South Africans have been pushed into remote areas called bantustans. A majority of the Palestinian people have been pushed out of their country altogether. The vision of Greater Israel, the conquering of lands surrounding the State created in 1948, has entailed the constant removal of Palestinians. Land is conquered, people are chased out and then the land is confiscated for the exclusive use of the ruling race or religion. Israel, the occupying Power, has thus so far confiscated 55 per cent of the West Bank and Gaza.

Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza are on a par economically with South African non-whites, who sell their labour to white industries. Both groups form a reserve labour force. Neither group of workers has any labour rights, legal unions or benefits.

The inhumane practices and policies against the Palestinians and the non-white South Africans could fill volumes. They are basically aimed at crushing the will of the peoples to live in peace and freedom and to achieve their national rights of self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

Despite the escalation of acts of brutality and oppression by the racist regime of Pretoria, the South African people in turn has intensified its struggle, putting the racist regime in a state of panic and also achieving qualitative political gains on the road to freedom. These include the freedom of some of the political prisoners and, of course, the release of our hero and leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

Similarly, despite the increased repressive measures practised by the occupying power, Israel, against the Palestinian people, the killing of women and children with live ammunition, the demolition of homes, the imprisonment of Palestinians and expulsions, the intifadah is still well and alive, more determined than ever before to shake off the illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

We call upon the international community and all peace-loving people to step up their efforts to bring about a just and lasting solution for both peoples. In this instance we should like to stress and continue to insist that the United Nations should play a more active role in achieving peace in both regions. The General Assembly and the Security Council in their many discussions and the resolutions they have adopted have time and time again rejected apartheid in South Africa and demanded its elimination. They have also rejected the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and insisted on the withdrawal of Israel, the occupying Power.

In the light of that, we call upon the United Nations to take concrete action to implement all the relevant resolutions and make them effective. The situation in South Africa and the West Bank and Gaza is deteriorating at an alarming pace. Repression and racism should not be tolerated. Therefore, immediate action should be taken to bring about a just and lasting solution to both problems, with independence, self-determination and sovereignty. In the meantime, the heroic struggle of both peoples will continue until their goals are achieved.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Palestinian men, women and children who yearn to be free, I join hands and hearts with our brothers and sisters of South Africa in their just struggle for freedom. We salute them on this Day of international solidarity against racism and racial discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last speaker in our meeting today.

Before I adjourn the meeting I wish to inform participants that on the occasion of the International Day many heads of State or Government have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee. The total number of messages we have received so far is 41.

We have received messages from the Heads of State of Government of the following countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Central African Republic, Chile,

(The Chairman)

China, Cyprus, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela and Viet Nam.

Messages have also been received from the Governments of the following countries: India, Brazil, Guyana, Jamaica, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

Luxembourg has sent a message on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

Additional messages have been received from Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other government officials of the following countries: Argentina, Cuba, Ecuador, Japan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, the Philippines, Peru, South Africa and Turkey.

I suggest that, in accordance with previous practice and taking into account the usual financial implications, the texts of those messages be published in a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: As we know, pledges and contributions were received yesterday morning to the trust funds and programmes for southern Africa for the year 1991. The Governments of the following countries have made such pledges and contributions: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Venezuela.

Those 32 Governments pledged a total of $8,856,399 to the trust funds and programmes.

(The Chairman)

The Special Committee is very encouraged by the contributions and the pledges made. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to thank very warmly all the donor countries for their generous assistance to funds and programmes for southern Africa.

In concluding the observance today, I should like to express once again our great appreciation and thanks to all the participants in our solemn meeting for their support and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. The Special Committee intends to see the solidarity translated into concrete action by urging the international community to maintain and sustain concerted pressure on Pretoria along the lines of the provisions enshrined in the United Nations Declaration and subsequent resolutions adopted by consensus in the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.